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Shall we not, in the interest of humanity, support our colleagues in other parliaments in a campaign for their acceptance? [Applause.]

WILSON

By E. T. MONETA

[This article, by the eminent Italian peace leader upon whose career further comment will be found in our editorial pages, is the leading editorial in *La Vita Internazionale* for January 20, the latest issue of this paper to come to hand, and presumably the last which Signor Moneta personally supervised.—THE EDITOR.]

READING Wilson's marvelous address to the Congress of the United States of America, struck by the epic beauty of his philosophical conception, by the profound sense of justice, dignity, and humanity which inspired him, we were led, by a tendency habitual and inveterate and peculiar to ourselves, to turn to the history of Italy and of the whole world, to search if there might be found a deed, a discourse in any way worthy of comparison in point of strength to this. We found none.

Reviewing the course of the centuries, one may see as an heroic phantasmagoria the most sublime deeds of ancient Rome, empress of the world, the glories of men and nations, which called forth in the lives of many ideals of military and civil virtue; but one does not find an example comparable to this genius of America, who personifies in himself the great ideals of justice and humanity. In him we see both the statesman and the philosopher, the man of thought and the man of action, the patriot and the world hero. No part of this epochal address but tears down and destroys ideas which in the past have seemed the very pivot of politics and society and which were regarded as eternal. The strong wind of his faith in the reasonableness of men and in the certain triumph of human justice puts to flight the clouds of well-nigh sacred egotism, of political chicanery, of faithless evasion, and reveals the sun of a morality heretofore practically unknown to the world.

Wilson has wrought a profound upheaval in international diplomacy. He has announced to all people the doom of professional secret diplomacy and of secret government. He has forced the politics of the future into the light of day.

The peoples must no longer be treated like children, but as capable of understanding their just rights, their peculiar responsibilities, and of defending both with their lives. Wilson speaks to governments no less than to the people, saying expressly to the former: "Be wise and just, and you will be stronger and more respected, and you will make your people happier."

Wilson makes one think of Franklin, the prophet of the French Revolution, but, greater than Franklin, he wages war with sword and word for the highest altruism. At the head of a nation that has all the necessary strength to devote itself to aggrandizement and domination, he offers its noblest energies in the service of the oppressed and reconciles all conflicts on the basis of justice assured.

In addition, he has presented the tables of the new law, by which may be given to all the world a true peace, honest and just, which shall not be overthrown.

THE ROAD TO DURABLE PEACE

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER *

THE war which now involves the whole world is, on the part of the Allies, avowedly a war not for conquest, for revenge, or for economic advantage, but a war to restore the rule of law and to establish durable peace. No other war has ever been fought for a like motive. This explains the fact that it has been entered upon by the several allied peoples not with shouting, with excitement, or with wild demonstration, but with restraint, with firm conviction, and with stern resolve. The aim of the war is to stop war so far as this is humanly possible.

If in the past war has seemed to be a biological necessity, an essential part of the struggle for existence, it is only because the world had not risen to the plane of substituting moral co-operation for physical competition. A materialistic world, bent only on profits and on accumulation, is likely always to be a world that plans and invites war. On the other hand, a world that is built on a foundation of moral and spiritual insight and conviction, will be a world from which war is excluded by every means that man can devise.

In order to tread the road to a durable peace, we must grasp not only the exact facts as they relate to the origin and prosecution of the war on the part of the Central Empires, but also the underlying causes which conspired to bring the war about.

To say that the war sprang from the desire of Austria-Hungary to oppress Serbia, or from the conflicting ambitions of Russia and Germany in Southeastern Europe, or from commercial rivalry between Germany and Great Britain, is simply to delude oneself with superficial appearances. It is a case of camouflage. The cause of the war and the reason that the war was inevitable (as we can now see) is a conflict of ideals in the life of the world. It is clear now that the old notion of a world-dominating power was not dead. This was the notion which sent Alexander the Great and his army into Asia. This was the notion which built up the legions and inspired the policy of ancient Rome. This was the notion which took possession of the mind of Charlemagne. This was the notion which harnessed to its service the dynamic energy and the military genius of Napoleon Bonaparte. This notion was not, as men generally thought in 1914, dead and gone and a matter for the historian alone. It was first slumbering and then taking active form in the minds of the ruling caste of the German Empire. With them it was based upon a philosophy of history and of life which made the German people, like the Hebrews of old, the chosen partners of God himself in the subjection and civilization of the world.

When this notion took possession of so powerful, so active-minded, and so highly disciplined a people as the Germans, it became only a question of time when it must find itself in a life and death struggle with the opposing principle. This is the dominating fact which stands out above and beyond all particular explanations of the origin of the war. The war is at bottom a final struggle between the principle of world-domina-

* Abstract of address delivered before the Chamber of Commerce, St. Louis, Missouri, February 16, 1918.

tion and the principle of a group of friendly, co-operating nations, all equal in sovereignty and in dignity in the eye of the world's law, however varied they may be in resources and in power.

That with which we are at war, therefore, is not a people or a race, but an idea. We should have had to be at war with that idea no matter what people or what race had acted as its agents. If this idea of world-domination had been adopted by Italy, and if Italy had attacked the world in its interest, we should be at war with Italy. If this idea of world-domination had been adopted by Japan, and if Japan had attacked the world in its interest, we should be at war with Japan. If this idea of world-domination had been adopted by Russia, and if Russia had attacked the world in its interest, we should be at war with Russia. But as a matter of fact this idea was adopted by Germany, and it was Germany which attacked the world in its interest; therefore we are at war with Germany.

The road to durable peace begins at the point where this false notion of world-domination is given up once for all. Commercial interpenetration, financial control, and military dominance are the three forms in which the lust for world-power manifests itself. A free world made up of independent, liberty-loving nations must combine to prevent any one of these. The liberty-loving nations have almost with unanimity now combined in this war for that very purpose.

A false idea is not really conquered until it is overthrown in the minds of those who have entertained it. What we must reach, therefore, is the mind, the conscience, and the heart of the German people. We must by military defeat compel them to leave off looking for new worlds to conquer, and turn their thought inward to prepare the way for those same ideas of co-operation between nations, of the sacredness of treaty obligations, of the rights of small nations, and of the duties of great powers toward submerged nationalities, which are now part of the mental furniture of liberty-minded men and women throughout the world. If in 1848 the aspirations of so large a portion of the German people had not been disappointed and crushed, the history of the past fifty years might have been written in letters of gold instead of in letters of so much blood.

It has been plain, since the battle of the Marne, that Germany and her allies could not win this war. The history of the conflict from September 6, 1914, has been one of varying fortunes, but viewed in the largest possible way, it is a history of slow but sure German defeat. The amazing exhibition of military power made by France and by the citizen-soldiers of Great Britain has been adequate to hold in check the enormous and highly trained armies of the Central Empires. Distress, unhappiness, and grave doubt as to the outcome and issues of the war are now widespread in Germany and in Austria-Hungary. All these facts contribute to the breaking-down of the zeal for world-domination and increase the chance of a durable peace to follow the war.

The terms of that peace have been stated at intervals for three and one-half years past by some of the leading responsible statesmen of the world. The early declarations of Mr. Asquith and of M. Briand could hardly be improved. The later ones of the Prime Minister of England and of the President of the United

States have awakened resounding echoes throughout the world and have been listened to even by the peoples with whom we are at war. It is quite idle, however, to talk of a negotiated peace if by that we mean a peace that shall leave the vital issues of the war unsettled. The result would be not a peace but an armistice. This would last until our children, or our children's children, armed to the teeth and bearing meanwhile the crushing burden of huge military establishments, took up again the task that we laid down without having carried it to accomplishment. That would not be a fortunate or an honorable legacy for this generation to leave to its successors. We must persist with steadfastness and with all possible speed until the war is definitively won, and until our enemies admit that they have lost in the combat which they forced upon the world.

When that end has been accomplished, the world will have traveled a long way on the road toward a durable peace. While it is true that the coming international organization and the coming international economic relationships will powerfully aid in establishing and maintaining peace, yet after all, the main thing is to remove from the world a notion and a purpose that compel armaments and that eventually force war. That notion and that purpose are those of world-domination. The cry, *Weltmacht oder Niedergang*, comes from a shallow mind and from a hardened heart. The alternative to *Weltmacht* is not *Niedergang*. It is rather membership in a family of nations, each one of which is possessed of what I have described as the international mind. This is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

Given this, and it will be easy to establish and maintain an international organization to keep the peace of the world, as well as to establish and maintain international economic relationships that shall promote human happiness and human satisfaction. Without this condition, all schemes for international organization and international co-operation are futile and will not long ward off a disaster which takes its origin in wrong and false ideas planted in the hearts of men and nations.

THE WAR OF IDEALS AND THE WAY OUT

By WILLIAM E. BORAH*

THIS is not, as most previous wars have been, a war merely of armies; it is a war of nations; it is a contention and a conflict between whole peoples, and not merely between great armies.

In former times, until the Revolution in France, wars were carried on by armies, which were often employed and dissociated or disunited in a marked degree at least

* Portions of an address delivered by Senator Borah before the Senate, March 18, 1918, in connection with the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill.